

The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME XXIII

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1920

NUMBER 291

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The Week

PRESIDENT WILSON'S interview makes it perfectly clear that there is to be no quiet substitution of a new management and new policies in the Democratic party, if he can prevent it. Wilsonism must be the chief issue. The Democratic Convention will have to find in the Treaty and the League Covenant, unamended, a perfect fulfillment of American war aims and of American promises to the world. It will have to stand for the administration of the Espionage law, for Palmer and arrests, without warrant, for Burleson and arbitrary mail censorship, for Baker and sales on dubious credit of war material to bolster up Polish imperialism. It will have to stand for a record of unauthorized war upon Russia and a blockade which continues in force when the only European countries not opposed to it are France and Poland, and these for reasons with which America can have no sympathy.

IF the Democratic party must come before the voters glorying in all the sins of commission and

omission of the Wilson administration, there is no reason why the Republicans should make any special effort. They will win without raising a hand. The American people want a new deal. They do not intend to give up another four years of their history in order to enable any group of politicians to show how consistent they can be, in their vices as well as in their virtues. The only hope for the Democrats lay in the possibility that under the old name of the Democracy new forces might appear, powerful enough to break with the administration. A break, or utter defeat; that is the logic that confronts the Democratic leaders.

McADOO'S withdrawal from the race for nomination can be readily understood, in the light of conditions in the party. We may ignore his official explanation, that he cannot afford the financial sacrifice involved in running for the Presidency. There is no American who would not somehow manage to endure the financial sacrifice, if he had a chance of putting up a good fight for what he considers the most exalted office in the world. But McAdoo understands perfectly that whoever may be nominated on a platform of fulsome approval of whatever the administration has done or failed to do will serve only as a funereal sacrifice. And McAdoo is willing to let somebody else have that honor.

THERE was another possible course of action: to enter the fight for a more hopeful program. It is certain that McAdoo is not a thick and thin supporter of all the policies of the administration. He did not approve of the premature restoration of the railways to private control. His telegram on coal profits showed how completely out of sympathy he was with Palmer's idea of handling a strike. In published interviews he has exhibited himself as a liberal beyond the comprehension of the group around the President. But the circumstance of his personal relations with the President

makes it out of the question that McAdoo could lead the forces of reform within the Democratic party.

THE Wisconsin Nonpartisan League, under La Follette's inspiration, has adopted a platform which is as nearly as possible the diametric opposite of the Republican platform. It is definite and precise throughout. It favors the immediate conclusion of peace and resumption of trade with all countries; it opposes the League and denounces the Treaty "as a violation of the pledges made to the world and a betrayal of the honor of this nation"; it demands the restoration of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly; it favors the repeal of the Espionage law and Sedition act; opposes laws conferring on the Postmaster-General power to deny the mailing privilege without a judicial hearing; opposes deportation except for crime fixed by law; it demands the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes; it advocates ultimate public ownership of railroads and the gradual acquisition of stock yard terminals, large packing plants and all other monopolies; it condemns conditions which generate war millionaires, denounces usurpation of legislative powers by the federal courts and proposes an elective federal judiciary; it favors amendments to the Constitution extending the initiative and referendum to federal legislation and the recall to Senators and Congressmen. It proposes a readjustment of the pay of ex-soldiers making it at least equivalent to civil wages, and urges a deep waterway from the great lakes "thus making the primary markets on the great lakes equal to those of New York."

IT is understood that the vague Mexican plank of the Republican platform would be interpreted under Harding in a "forward looking way," satisfactory to the sponsors of the Fall resolution. Mexico will be expected to amend her constitution to suit our desires, and to give evidence of conservatism in the personnel and policies of her government. That she is apparently trying to do, at present. The men whom the government of de la Huerta trusts, and who apparently trust the government, are as a rule known as sane and level-headed. De la Huerta gives no promise of amending the Mexican constitution to the taste of American investors, but does give assurances that the clause in the constitution which has caused the most trouble, that relating to nationalization of the subsoil, will not be interpreted retroactively. That is all we can reasonably ask. To demand more would be to give aid and comfort to the factions opposing the government, which already exhibit formidable strength in the northern states.

ON foreign affairs the American Federation of Labor may be willing to have its thinking done for it by Mr. Gompers; but on domestic affairs it is not so tractable. By a vote of 29,058 to 8,348 it adopted a resolution declaring for "government ownership and democratic operation of the railroad system and necessary inland waterways." That is the Plumb plan, put in general terms. Mr. Gompers fought the resolution, but in vain. He might take what solace he could in his unanimous reelection to the presidency.

REACTION is the outstanding characteristic of the new German government. The Majority Socialists, while agreeing not to embarrass the government so long as preparations are making for the Spa conference, have refused to take part in it. The only alternative was a coalition of the three conservative groups, the Center party, the German Peoples party and the Democrats. The second of these is monarchist, but it has been pledged to stand by the republican constitution and not to use its official position for monarchist propaganda. Perhaps the pledge will hold, especially if the Allies recognize in Germany's drift to the extremes the result of a policy that left nothing undone to discourage and discredit the moderate democratic element in Germany. It is not too late to make a real democracy out of Germany, but time presses.

AT the Hythe conference, England, it is understood, is doing her best to bring France around to a realization of the futility of standing stubbornly on the Treaty of Versailles. The British view appears to be that important concessions in the matter of the indemnity should be offered the Germans at Spa. The peril of Central European chaos appears to the British of graver import than anything else. The French, on the other hand, appear most impressed by the danger of German military recovery. According to French reports, the Germans have much greater forces, and have retained vastly more military material, than the Treaty permitted. And the French demand first of all a military accounting. Beyond that they oppose any reduction in the indemnity that would defeat their hope of relieving their own treasury of a substantial part of its burden of debt. If they have to pay in full their obligations to England and America, they insist that Germany pay according to the letter of the Treaty. It is intimated that the French still desire to transfer part of the German indemnity to England and America in exchange for their own obligations. Apparently they refuse to recognize that such a transaction would be conceivable only if the indemnity were scaled down to bearable proportions.

LABOR internationalism is entering upon an ambitious enterprise in the transportation boycott of Hungary on account of the excesses of the White government. The world has long been familiar with international pressure applied through financial houses. That has sometimes worked. In Hungary not only the reactionaries but the political democrats are resolutely opposed to any yielding to labor pressure. They have reason to be. If Hungary yields in this instance, a precedent will have been established for a form of labor intervention that will greatly curtail the powers of political diplomacy.

POLISH forces, according to Moscow dispatches, have been retiring over a great part of the line east of Kiev. We may give the Poles the benefit of the assumption that this is merely a strategic retirement, since there was no object in remaining so deeply immersed in Russian territory after the loss of Kiev. The retirement could not have been effected, however, without the abandonment of some military supplies, which are difficult to replace, in view of Poland's lack of credit and the difficulty British labor makes about handling military supplies for Poland. We need not assume that there is any immediate danger that the Russian armies will invade Polish territory. But they exhibit sufficient force to warn the Poles that the present is not an auspicious time for grandiose dreams of the historic Polish imperial state.

WITH Belgium's adherence to the party which urges the reopening of trade with Russia, France is left quite isolated. She is not only isolated; she has been morally outgeneralled by Krassin. France is holding out for the assurance that the Russian government will pay the obligations to French nationals contracted by the old government. That is not in itself an innovation in international policy. The moral ground is not strong. Much of the money borrowed by the Tsar was employed to keep down the revolutionary movement from which the present Russian government claims descent. But there is a precedent in the time-honored practice of the Powers in saddling regions liberated from Turkey with a share of the Ottoman debt, contracted largely with evil design. The most serious weakness of the present position of France is that while she is asking Russia to validate those doubtful obligations she is egging on the Poles to keep up their war on Russia. Quite properly Krassin refuses to talk Russian obligations until France is ready to talk peace.

IN Turkey matters are going badly for the Allied peace makers. There is no Turkish government

really competent to give force to the terms of the treaty. England, France, Italy and Greece may claim Turkish soil, but the Turks mean not to give it up except under the pressure of overwhelming military force, and none of the western Powers is inclined to raise large armies for the purpose. The Greeks exhibit a willingness to provide the armies, at a price, but the western Powers are extremely doubtful about the fighting quality of Greek armies. For Greek imperialism is a highly artificial mood, imputed to a pacific people by Venizelos and the British and French foreign offices. As it now appears, the Turks are likely to get off with terms much less drastic than those originally drawn up.

ARMENIA will remain through the generations as the final proof of the exclusive devotion of Allied policy to Allied interests, not to the interest of humanity. Armenian assistance was eagerly sought by the Allies when the Turks threatened Russia in the rear. Armenian volunteers helped to win Palestine for British imperialism. When it came to the final settlement it was agreed to reward the Armenians by giving them just so much of Armenia as the French did not want, or as the British did not feel ought to be returned to the Turks. The final proof of disregard of the fate of Armenians is registered in the armistice negotiated between the French and the Turkish Nationalists. That armistice did not apply to the Armenians, who had fought by the side of the French. But we Americans have no right to throw stones. What did the Republicans at Chicago have to offer Armenia? Hollow words. It is said that when the subject of Armenia was pronounced in reading the platform, a cynical grin overspread the faces of the delegates. And we used to pride ourselves on American generosity, American humanity.

IN the case of the Michaels Stern Clothing Company against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Justice Rodenbeck of the New York Supreme Court handed down a decision in favor of the plaintiff, making permanent the injunction against the labor organization and awarding damages to be fixed later. The decision is made to turn on the question whether violence, or its equivalent, was used by the defendants in pursuit of their object—apparently a lawful one—of seeking to unionize the plaintiff's shops. Apparently, we say, because one passage in the long, confusing decision suggests that the case would have gone against the defendants however free their action might have been of all trace of violence. "Monopolies and exclusive privileges are alike condemned whether accompanied by combinations of labor or capital." This

is à propos of the fact that the Amalgamated persisted in trying to dominate the plaintiff's shops in spite of the fact that the plaintiff had admitted the United Garment Workers (ad hoc, to be sure.) If all the Amalgamated had wanted was unionization, didn't they have it? If that is the way the law looks at the matter employers who do not want to be bothered by the effective organization have only to introduce an ineffective one in order to win the shelter of the anti-monopoly principle.

SCHOOL teachers in Lancaster, Pa., after futile appeals to the school board for a living wage, organized a union affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers. At last the board awoke. A union in a public service? Impossible. Once a public employee, always a defenceless individual, until some private employment rescues one from the work for which he has trained himself. That process, which has left tens of thousands of our schools without teachers, was sacrosanct in the eyes of the Lancaster school board. All teachers were given their choice: withdraw from the union or fail of re-appointment. The teachers, eighty-two in number, stood their ground and were dropped. This, remarks the local stand-pat paper, "should banish any hope . . . that they might be able to force the board to recede from a stand taken, in their judgment, for the best interests of *all* the people." Yes, and such action also banishes hope that our teaching profession will soon recover from the despair and lethargy that now lames its efficiency.

FRENCH and British experts, it is said, are agreed on fixing the total figure for the German indemnity. The sum, 120 billions of gold marks, looks inflated as compared with the 50 to 60 billions of marks that most competent economic authorities regard as the collectible maximum. But the discrepancy is an illusion. The greater estimate is the sum of annuities of three billion marks, payable through thirty-seven years. The lesser estimate is an interest bearing debt, with interest and amortization payments amounting to three billion marks annually. It would take about as long to extinguish the indemnity debt on the latter basis as on the former. But one hundred and ten billions looks bigger than fifty to the mass of the Allied public, who have been taught to expect large figures and are not expert in compound interest computations. The French still hold out for the right to increase the annuity—and reduce the time of final extinction of the debt—when Germany can afford to pay more. That, too, will no doubt be abandoned in favor of terms leaving no point indeterminate.

IF Senator Harding is elected President there is at least one mistake of Mr. Wilson's that he can be trusted not to make. He is incapable of putting into his cabinet men of abilities inferior to his own.

Progressive Twilight

MR. HERBERT HOOVER, in spite of his disappointment over "some tendencies that were apparent at Chicago" has decided to support Senator Harding for the Presidency. "I am convinced," he says, "that those of us, and I believe they are the majority of the party who hold more definite views (than those which prevailed at Chicago) could not, even were we so inclined, successfully effect the consummation of such views outside the party and that our duty is to bring them to realization within the party organization itself." He adds that "unity of action among the liberal thinkers of the party will insure the country against legislative reaction." The great majority of progressives so-called will undoubtedly follow his example. No former progressive leader, so far as we are aware, who has called himself a Republican during the past four years has announced his intention of bolting the nomination.

This decision is not a matter for surprise. As the New Republic pointed out in its last issue, there is nowhere else for them to go and nothing else for them to do. After their embittered opposition to Mr. Wilson, they cannot support the Democratic party; and even if they were inclined to bolt, the interpretation which they have placed upon their progressivism by their behavior in 1916 and since would render another insurrection meaningless and ridiculous. During the pre-convention campaign all the progressive leaders talked and acted as if their allegiance to the Republican party was more binding and more important than their allegiance to their progressive principles. This is only another way of saying that their progressivism has ceased to be a matter of common and distinguishable conviction. They divided their support among candidates as remote one from another in their underlying ideas as Hoover, Johnson, Lowden and Wood. If progressives could sincerely and intelligently support all these candidates, then they were separated one from another by differences at least as significant as the differences which separated them as a group from the conservatives. As a matter of fact, progressive Republicanism is indistinguishable from what would be called conservatism anywhere else in the world. Mr. Hoover proved this when he described as "constructive" and "progressive" a platform whose chief merit is that

it avoids committing the party to the most dangerous extremes of reactionary policy.

It is, we regret to say, demonstrably true that the progressive movement which developed within the Republican party under the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt has ceased to have any coherent meaning. It began as an insurrection against the domination in American economic life of privileged special interests, whose privileges were fortified by their control over the political machines of the two parties. Its program, consequently, consisted in part of proposals which were intended to socialize and humanize American industry and in part of proposals which were intended to restore to the American democracy control over its political instruments. This program was never realized except to a negligible extent. Special privileged interests still control American economic life almost to the same extent that they did in 1912. The "invisible government" prevails to practically the same extent in American politics. The candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency has throughout his political career been the obedient servant of these special interests. He was the friend and associate of Foraker who was Mr. Roosevelt's bitterest and ablest opponent. He has consistently resisted every progressive movement within the party. He is running on a platform which ignores the existence of privilege in American business and politics and which does not even pretend to provide any remedy for it. Yet the former progressive Republicans not only rally to the candidate and to the platform but claim they can do so without any sacrifice of conviction.

Surely, the significance of this plain tale from the hills of politics is clear enough to be seized on the run. Either the progressive Republicans were wrong in emphasizing the abuses of American political and economic life and in deserting the Republican party in the hope of creating a party which would be free to deal drastically with those abuses, or they are wrong in supporting a candidate and a platform which fails to recognize the existence of any serious abuses and refuses even to consider desirable remedies. The progressive Republicans cannot have it both ways. They were wrong eight years ago or they are wrong today. If they were wrong eight years ago, progressive Republicanism has never owned any enduring or worthy fund of principle and conviction. If they are wrong today, they have proved false to their early faith and have rendered themselves negligible as the spokesmen of progressive principles within the party. They are quite incapable of that "unity of action" upon which Mr. Hoover is depending "to insure the country against legislative reaction."

It seems credulous to expect unity of action from "liberals" who are lacking both continuity and integrity of conviction.

Friends of Mr. Hoover may object to the preceding analysis of the standing and meaning of progressivism in that it refers too much to the past. The question is not whether the progressives committed a mistake eight years ago in quitting the Republican party or whether progressivism had as much or the same meaning then as it has now, but whether under existing circumstances and after the experience of the past eight years it is not better tactics for liberals to work within rather than outside of the existing parties. This objection has some force. The progressive program of 1912 was immature and defective in many respects and its repetition today would be both undesirable and futile. We are not criticizing progressive Republicans for departing from the program of 1912. We are criticizing them for ceasing to be progressive, for forgetting the existence of economic privilege, for failing to revise the program in the light of existing conditions and needs, and for abandoning the conviction on which they acted in 1912—the conviction that it is more important to be progressive than to be Republican. In so far as they believe and act on the opposite conviction that it is more important to be Republican than to be progressive or liberal, they are depriving liberalism or progressivism of the kind of impulse and stamina which alone can make it serviceable to the nation.

Mr. Hoover's endorsement of Senator Harding's nomination implies an interpretation of liberalism which in our opinion necessarily deprives it of impulse and stamina and condemns it to a meaningless opportunism. The ultimate basis of his endorsement consists of his distrust of third parties and his belief in the necessity of the two-party system in a democracy such as ours, whose government is separated into independent legislative and executive branches and whose people have a strong tendency to divide into local and political groups. Most students of American politics will, we believe, agree with him, as we do, in attaching great importance to the two-party system as the best existing means of organizing majority rule, but a belief in the continued desirability of "two dominant parties" is not equivalent to a belief in the need of indefinitely perpetuating the two existing parties. At any particular time the two dominant parties may fall under the control of interests and elements which are incapable of dealing in a sufficiently enlightened or realistic manner with the contemporary economic or political problems. In 1850 or thereabouts the Democratic and Whig parties fell under such control and their cowardice and obscurantism necessi-

tated, if the extension of slavery was to be prevented, the formation of the Republican party. The belief that a similar condition exists today in our opinion is the distinguishing mark of progressivism. The Whig and Democratic parties in 1850 were so organized and led that they were obliged to evade the problem raised by the extension of slavery. The Republican and Democratic parties are so organized and led that they cannot honestly and intelligently tackle the evils and abuses of the American political and economic system.

Surely the fate of the many liberal and reform movements during the past fifty years leaves no excuse for any further illusion on the part of sincere and intelligent progressives about either the Democratic or Republican parties. The controlling element in both organizations consists of politicians, lawyers and business men whose interests counsel them to oppose the realization of liberal or progressive ideas. They will yield when they have to yield, as the Republican interests yielded to Roosevelt until he ceased to be President or as the Southern Democrats yielded to Wilson, but they yield knowing full well that any particular progressive movement is soon arrested by the inertia of the American political system and that before long the movement will spend itself and they will come back. Whenever the reformers are stiff-necked, aggressive and temporarily powerful and when concessions may cost too much, the political and business machines are perfectly willing to use their control of the party machinery to prevent the will of the majority of the party from getting itself expressed, as they did at Chicago in 1912. They are not afraid of a bolt. For controlling as they do all the permanent routes to power and political influence and knowing as they do what a weak stomach the ordinary American has for a prolonged fight outside the breastworks or in the wilderness, they feel sure that the insurgent will eventually return, as the progressives have returned, to regularity and obedience. What they fear is not insurgency but a new party, whose members possess a genuine conviction of the need of thoroughgoing social and political reconstruction and which would swing enough votes to threaten their power. If such a party were ever organized it would not destroy the two-party system. It would give to that system a new and needed vitality. The interests which control the existing machines would combine against it.

Considering the traditions and the composition of Democracy and Republicanism a liberal or progressive party will never form itself out of a reshuffling of the elements which remain Democratic or Republican. Yet precisely because of the need in a democracy of national parties as the organizers

of majority rule, liberalism or progressivism will never become a vital positive influence in American politics until it can create as its instrument a sincerely liberal and progressive party. If liberalism is not a matter of definite, coherent, realistic and aggressive conviction which necessarily attaches prime importance to its own realization, it becomes merely the amiable delusion of well-intentioned quitters. The real reason why so many "progressives" and "liberals" are rallying to the Republican or, for that matter, to the Democratic party is not any theoretic preference for the two-party system, but their own lack of definite, coherent and aggressive convictions. In several of his pre-convention speeches or statements, Mr. Hoover has referred to liberalism as if it consisted essentially of avoiding the dangerous extremes of radicalism and conservatism and of treading warily in the middle of the road. As a matter of historic attitude liberalism has, it is true, usually avoided the immediate transition from conviction to performance which would necessitate the use of violence as the agent of conviction, but its distrust of violence is not equivalent merely to cautious and timid travelling in the middle of the road. If it were, liberalism would never amount to a positive alternative to unenlightened conservatism or blind and enraged radicalism. As the history of the July monarchy in France so clearly shows, liberalism whose motto is the "juste milieu" necessarily becomes either the victim or the accomplice of the aggressive and ardent extremists. The man who seeks success through the sacrifice or the compromise of his convictions will, in the long run, yield to the man who seeks success through insistence on his convictions.

Liberalism consists essentially not of meliorism but of the application of the best existing knowledge to the realization of human purposes. It is the offspring of the coalition between science and humanism which was implicit in the Renaissance and first became self-conscious among the pre-revolutionary philosophers in France. But the best existing knowledge which we can bring to the realization of human purposes is composed in part of the facts of social and individual development and in part of convictions which we would like to put into practice about what should be done to these facts in order the better to realize human purposes. The person who is not ready to submit his convictions to the test of experience is, of course, a doctrinaire rather than a liberal, but a self-styled liberal who does not believe enough in his own convictions to insist on trying them out and to forge the instrument which are necessary to try them out is untrue to the essential liberal faith. The liberal must equip himself morally and intellectually to follow through—

to travel on any part of the road which the exigencies of the journey require. Those American liberals and progressives who are sticking to the old parties are not prepared to follow through and they are consequently condemning their liberalism to triviality and impotence. They convict themselves of the lack of any body of progressive beliefs and principles which qualify them to play the part of fore-runners.

The Democratic Party: Lest We Forget

The Chicago convention has pronounced for conservatism, and for a conservatism lacking in vision. The San Francisco convention can lend complete reality to our party system by declaring, in platform and candidate, for liberalism. That is its great opportunity.

New York Evening Post, June 16th.

ABOUT Mr. Harding no one can have the slightest illusion. He is what he is, an absolutely faithful exponent and a perfectly sincere believer in Republicanism as it was practiced from the death of Lincoln to the advent of Roosevelt. He is a reactionary in the exact sense of that word, because he openly desires to return to the politics of the nineteenth century. He is not a conservative, because he does not wish to conserve the chief results of the progressive movement of the last twenty years. He does not wish to stand pat but to step back. No doubt there will be an effort in the course of the campaign to obscure this fact. It is not denied today by any one.

The decision of the Republican party to repudiate all that Roosevelt and the reformers of his generation accomplished provides the reactionaries of America with a party, a platform, and a candidate that are harmonious and logical. The reactionaries are entitled to such a party, and no believer in representative government would deny it to them. They have won a complete victory in one of the two parties, and they are entitled to the vote of every man and woman who wants the kind of thing the Republican party has declared itself to be.

To those of us who believe that four years of naked reaction would be a disaster to the nation, support of Harding is, of course, unthinkable. But there are conservatives and progressives who will vote for this straight-forward reactionary. They will vote for him because they see no alternative, or because they have personal ambitions to serve, or because they will think that by maintaining their regularity they can ultimately profit. There will be many to argue that if Harding is defeated, the

party must surrender to the progressives or die; there will be others who argue that a reactionary government in the next four years must create such terrific confusion and bankruptcy that the party will pass to a progressive receivership. Both arguments are highly sophisticated and dangerous. They are that, because all who vote for Harding or talk for him even in a perfunctory way are morally responsible for the results that flow from his election. Being morally responsible under circumstances when there is no confusion whatever about the nature of the issue, they cannot in the years to come expect full confidence when they again become insurgent. They cannot pretend that they were deceived, or that they had reason to hope. They know now just what the whole business means, and if they abet it now they must share the responsibility later.

All this has furnished the Democrats with an opportunity they did not expect, and have not earned. Probably they will attempt to exploit it. They know that they cannot outbid Mr. Harding for the support of the reactionaries north of the solid south, and they do not have to bid for the support of their own reactionaries. They have a chance to win by adopting a liberal program and nominating a liberal candidate, and for the sake of local victory Mr. Roger Sullivan and Mr. Tom Taggart and Mr. Charles F. Murphy and the other centers of infection may be prepared to promise grandiose things. It will be good politics for the Democrats to bleed publicly for mankind.

It happens though that the Democrats are in office, and they must expect to be judged at first on performance not on promise. No private assurance from the candidate, no amount of eloquence is in itself of the least value. As between an insincere progressive and a candid reactionary, give us the reactionary every time. He does not confuse, betray, disappoint. He does not cheapen the currency, degrade moral purpose, exploit the generosity of a people and enfeeble their will. That is just exactly what the Democrats have done ever since the armistice. The record is written.

On two indisputable issues they have stained the honor of the nation—by the Treaty of Versailles and the war with Russia. They have stained the honor of this nation because after making a solemn written engagement before mankind, and after failing to execute it, they entered upon the unforgivable task of trying to pretend that they had kept their word.

They have stained the honor of this nation by waging an absolutely illegal war against a people with whom we have no quarrel. They began this infamous performance under the pretext that it was

part of the war against Germany. But the fighting in that war, fighting in which American and Russian soldiers perished, began several months after the war with Germany had ended. They have ever since maintained a blockade of which the cruelty and hypocrisy are without parallel among civilized peoples.

Worse than this no reactionary can do, and he can at least refrain from gibbering about humanity.

On domestic issues the record since the armistice is equally plain. Boasting of what it was doing, the administration abandoned all effort to control the transition of business from war to peace. Though it clung frantically to its war powers, it destroyed as rapidly as it could all those war agencies which could have prevented during the transition the era of frantic speculation, hoarding, inflation and profiteering through which we are passing. On the central question of the railroads, the administration refused entirely to assume any leadership whatever, content to approve a scheme which has destroyed the morale of the transportation system.

Possessing the vast powers granted under the Overman act which would have enabled them to reorganize the executive departments of the government they have drifted helplessly and complacently into a condition of bureaucratic inefficiency and bureaucratic arrogance which literally threatens the stability of the government.

Finally, with the fairest words ever spoken about liberty and democracy by a living statesman emblazoned upon their banners, they are guilty of the most shameless destruction of American civil liberty attempted in this nation for a hundred and twenty years.

None of this can be forgotten, or easily forgiven, or mildly ignored, just because the Republican party is committed to a policy not one bit better. The only difference between the two parties at this moment is that the Republicans promise to be reactionary and the Democrats have been reactionary. Republican reaction is bold and candid; Democratic reaction has been cowardly and mean.

Is there any escape from this conclusion? Only this. The Democrats, as this is written, have still to hold their convention. A convention is, above all other things, a fight for the control of the party. Platforms and candidates are partly bait to the voters and partly symptoms of the real control under the surface. As things stand on the eve of the convention, the party is a heterogeneous collection of discordant factions—the bourbon south, the Wilsonian south, the machines like that of Tammany and Mr. Palmer, Bryanism, and a meager remnant of liberals. These last in combination with Bryan are probably the best the party has to offer.

Perhaps they will be allowed to write the platform and name the candidate. But they have done that before. Now they will have to do a good deal more before any progressive can take them seriously. They will have to demonstrate in action that they have repudiated the evil record since the armistice, that they have broken with the evil forces embodied in Palmer, that the old regime is finished and there is indeed a new start. They face the opportunity presented to them by the Republican party deeply entangled and obstructed by their past. For them one can now say only what the Salvation Army nobly says of all mankind: "A man may be down but he is never out."

The Railway Dilemma

AS they listen to the arguments for and against the pending railway rate increases, the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission must be acutely aware of the fact that the whole future of railway regulation in the United States, and incidentally their own future as an official body, is wavering in the balance.

If the Commission grants a sweeping and substantial rate increase, the agricultural west will be up in arms. The farmer feels the effect of a rate increase, perhaps more acutely than any other class, for the price of his product is fixed in a distant world market, and the freight rate comes out of his pocket. In recent years his traditional political insurgency has been turning more and more toward public ownership of the instruments of distribution, and the recent decision of the Supreme Court sustaining the constitutionality of the Nonpartisan League's program of state ownership has not discouraged him. He will not forget that during federal control of railways, while the general price level climbed nearly one hundred per cent, his freight bill hardly increased thirty per cent. He will not overlook the fact that the first notable event after the return of the railways to private control, was a disastrous railway congestion; and that the second notable event will be a sweeping rate increase. He will remember Mr. Hines's prophecy, that to sustain railway credit under private ownership a much larger rate increase must be granted than would be necessary under continued federal control. The Commission must realize that if it yields too much to the demands of the railways, it is courting political extinction.

Yet the other horn of the dilemma is even less attractive. Unless the credit of the railway companies is restored, private ownership of railways cannot endure. The government cannot continue

indefinitely making loans on dubious security to railroads which are scarcely meeting their present interest charges. Nor will the industrial community be satisfied much longer with a financially starved and physically under-equipped transportation system which is periodically breaking down. But to restore railway credit only a heroic and spectacular rate increase will suffice. The increase must be enough to counteract the profound ill-will which the average investor feels toward railway securities. It must be enough to counteract the campaign of depreciation which the railway officials have themselves carried on in their endeavor to persuade the public that they need higher rates. It must be enough to counteract the feeling of uncertainty with which the investor looks upon the railway labor situation. Every factor which makes for financial weakness must be compensated for by higher rates. That is the price of private ownership. How much of it the public is willing to pay is a question which must be giving anxious moments of thought to the more far-sighted members of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In the formal opinion which the Commission will render in announcing its decision, those considerations are, perhaps, not likely to obtrude themselves, for the Esch-Cummins law furnishes what purports to be a convenient arithmetical rule of thumb by which rates can be automatically determined. Rates are to be so fixed that they will bring in five and a half per cent (or, at the discretion of the Commission, six per cent) on the value of the railways. But the certainty is delusive. No one can say in advance what return a given rate will bring in. There are too many unknown quantities in the equation. And the decisions of the Supreme Court on the question of valuation have left so many vital questions undecided that within wide limits the Commission can exercise a tolerably free discretion. If the Commission is willing to risk the storm from the west which will follow a spectacular rate increase, it can find a way to grant the increase, whatever the Esch-Cummins law may say.

Therein lies the greatest danger for the future, so far as the present rate controversy is concerned. Six per cent is the highest average return which the Esch-Cummins law sanctions. Even if for a year the Commission generously guesses wrong, and the return exceeds six per cent, it can hardly avoid reducing the rates the next year to absorb the surplus. But the question of valuation is still in many respects wide open. If the Commission determines upon heroic measures to restore railroad credit, it will be under a strong temptation to decide all the doubtful questions of railway valuation in favor of the railroads. It can include in the valuation an

immense unearned increment in terminal and road-bed values. It can base its valuation of equipment and structures upon present inflated war costs of reproduction, rather than upon normal values. It can add hundreds of millions under such vague categories as "good will" and "value as a going concern." It can be liberal in every engineering estimate. It can grant not only the railway officials' claims of a valuation of \$20,000,000,000, based on 1914 prices, but their claims of "billions more" on account of the higher current price level.

The most serious consequence of any attempt to inflate valuation to make up for the moderate return allowed by the Esch-Cummins act will be for the future. Sooner or later, as most people will now concede, the railways will be nationalized. The owners will then be paid. A padded valuation for rate-making purposes will constitute a precedent which it will be hard to avoid when it comes to making compensation to the owners. Unsound principles of valuation adopted now on grounds of expediency may saddle upon the community, in the future, billions of dollars in enhanced capital costs.

The Interstate Commerce Commission is an administrative body, and is not responsible for the policy of the Esch-Cummins law. Congress has said that six per cent is the highest sum the community is willing to pay for private ownership. If six per cent is not enough to restore the credit of the railway corporations, Congress should know it, and be given an opportunity to say whether it will pay more. If the Interstate Commerce Commission tries to conceal a larger return under the guise of an inflated valuation, it will not only be stepping outside of its proper function, but it will have a heavy score to settle with the coming generation who must pay the bill.

The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1920, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT; ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER

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YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FIVE DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES FIFTEEN CENTS, CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, SIX DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE; REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

With the Original Cast

NONE of us thought they would dare to do it. We knew they could, and we knew how strong and almost compelling were their yearnings. All last winter and this spring they have talked about it and rolled the rich morsel under their tongues. "A man of the McKinley type." Or sometimes more specifically, "A man like Harding." A safe and sane man. A man we can understand and do business with. The Senator from Ohio embodied the heart's desire, the supreme dream. But in times like these would they dare to do it? Could they get away with it? Wouldn't they have to pander just a little bit to the awakened political consciousness of the community? In fine, could they put out and market a 1910 model without a self-starter or demountable rims in competition with the present day models?

Now, the interesting thing about Harding's nomination is that it is proof they thought they could do just that thing. Mr. Harding's selection is an earnest and gauge of the absolute surety and confidence of the managers of the Republican party that they have the elections next November in the palm of their hands; that they can win in a walk.

Politically Mr. Harding belongs to the same age, era, epoch or period as the wooden Indians who used to stand so massively, so passively, and so innocuously in front of cigar shops. He is as old-fashioned as that. A flower of the period before safety razors, when all the barber shops had shelves for their customers' gilt-lettered private shaving mugs, and the Police Gazette passed from hand to hand on Sunday mornings while the hay, grain and feed man and the elderly harness-maker took a fearful joy in gazing at Pauline Hall's delectable and columnar legs. Then to church before a fried chicken dinner, a nap and a walk with the children in the afternoon. Pastoral days, peaceful days, idyllic days, but, now, alas! gone where the woodbine twineth, as the poet said. No flivvers, no collective bargaining, no high cost of living, no small and oppressed nationalities, the railroad problem was how to get a pass, no "industrial unrest," no Reds, no grisly spectres of Soviets, no sugar shortage, no mandates or Article X, hired men worked all day every day and on Sundays put on a hat with a red lining specially designed for the country trade and went buggy riding, no mass urgings and surgings towards God knows what goal.

Such, my dear young friends, were the palmy days in which were formed the character, habits,

and political philosophy of Warren Gamaliel Harding. He has not changed with the times. I don't know that he has even heard the news that's going round. If he has heard it, he doesn't believe it.

The Senator from Ohio is native and irrevocably belongs to the period when we only demanded of our statesmen that they wear a Prince Albert and say boom-boom in resonant gong tones. A good larynx was the chief asset of a public man.

The candidate can "keynote." I have heard him. "Keynoting" implies the ability to make melodic noises and give the impression of passionately and torrentially moving onward and upward while warily standing still. Temperament under perfect control does the trick. It has its attendant dangers sometimes. Once upon a time there was a young fellow who tried it with a girl down in Georgia. She was a nice, sensible, common sense sort of a girl and she liked the boy. He used to come over to her house nearly every night and they would sit on the porch behind the honeysuckle and morning glory vines. The boy could talk, and nearly every night he would play her a piece on his bazoo. She liked it, too, but when she would go upstairs to bed and add up what he had said while she was combing her hair, she couldn't remember anything that would warrant her beginning to pick out the bridesmaids. Nothing was happening and time was getting along. One night under the influence of a soft moon and a mocking bird the boy began to silver tongue. She stood it just as long as she could and then she called for a showdown. She put her hand on his arm. "Claude," she said softly, "if that's a proposal I'm your huckleberry, but if it's a description of the scenery look out for the dog."

I think Mr. Harding ought to know that story; that's why I tell it. The present temper and mood of most folks these days seems to be to get down to cases and find out what ails us. I venture to commend the tale, too, to the authors of the League of Nations plank in the Republican platform.

How almost incredible is the indestructibility and continued power of the Old Guard in the Republican party who have done this thing. The first one I ever knew was Tom Platt of New York. I came to know him through writing his political obituary. I said that his power was gone; that he was finished. Then for several years I derived a sufficient livelihood by describing and commenting upon his political activities. It taught me the gratuitous folly of political prophecy. It made me wary of revolutions to dethrone the Old Guard.

They seemed to have acquired the art of surviving. When the "insurgent" movement began in the House of Representatives along in 1909-10, I, in common with a great many others, didn't take it very seriously or discern its force. Then in March, 1910, George Norris of Nebraska, Victor Mordock of Kansas and a handful of restless spirits pulled down Cannon from his high place, deprived the speakership of its great powers and broke up and scattered the Republican machine in the House. It seemed as if the Old Guard couldn't survive that blow. On the heels of it along came Roosevelt in 1912 with his Progressive party and added to the rout.

The Democrats came in. But what happens? In November, 1918, a Republican House is elected and when it comes to organize who is in control, who names the Speaker and the House leader and the important chairmanships and places of authority? Why, the identical crowd that was cast out in 1910—Joe Fordney and Jim Mann, and Frank Mondell and Phil Campbell, the same old crowd. They turn up as fresh as daisies and run the show. And what's more they run it just as if nothing had ever happened. Just as they ran it ten years ago. Just as if they had continuously run it to the applause and approval of a grateful people.

The war has made great changes in politics and political control in all the countries in the world except with us. In all the nations where there is parliamentary government, new men and new groups of men have come to the fore. They have brought with them new ideas and new plans. They have made shift to deal in a fresh way with new and modern and changing conditions. That is true in the old countries but here in this new country there has come uppermost in the popular legislative branch men who ten years ago were considered too reactionary and too immune to progress by their own party associates. It's odd, to say the least.

And now comes Harding as the final pledge of the Old Guard's fealty to old things, old figures, old ideas. A little while ago it seemed as sure as anything that the Republicans would sweep the country in November because of the wide and deep dissatisfaction with Mr. Wilson's administration. That, of course, is no longer even approachably true. The whole interest now centers in the nomination to be made at San Francisco. Where the Democrats had apparently no chance at all they now have more than an even chance.

For this long time many persons have wished that we would have a straight out, clean cut national contest between the reactionary and conservative forces, and the liberal and progressive element. It seems as if we may have it this year. The day after

Harding's nomination I would have said that if the Democrats do not nominate a man in tune with the spirit and state of mind of the country and who will represent the great mass to whom Harding will be anathema, then I would venture to offer eight to five that a third ticket will be presented, headed by somebody who will embody and personify the beliefs and aspirations that sought to find expression a little while ago in sentiment for Herbert Hoover. I am not so sure now.

We stay-at-homes here at Washington derived much entertainment from all of the earlier reports of an "unbossed" convention and the bewildered delegates left to make their own selection, and Johnson's veto power and all the rest of it. If Johnson had had any veto power do you suppose Harding would now be the candidate? Not a chance. On a day before the balloting began I met one of the old machine men here.

"Where do they get all this stuff about the convention not being under control?" he burst out indignantly. "I don't see anything going wrong. Ain't Lodge temporary and permanent chairman? He ain't going to let any of these wild fellows get away with anything. Ain't Smoot right there with him on the platform? Ain't Jim Watson chairman of the resolutions committee? Ain't Wood and Lowden and Johnson out there in front runnin' their fool heads off? Ain't that all right? Wasn't that the plan? I don't see anything to get nervous about yet. I see by the papers that they are helping Johnson hold his crowd together. They'll run 'em until they get tame and then they'll corral 'em. Of course, they may have to take Knox or this fellow Sproul, but you know as well as I do that Harding is the old boy they want, and if things run right he is the one they'll have."

This sound prediction was made to me after the convention was organized but before a ballot was taken. It seems to have been more thoroughly and completely under control than any Republican convention of recent years. Mr. Bryan who has been going to conventions since 1876 has borne public testimony that it was the most reactionary assemblage of the sort he ever attended. He is an expert if not an unprejudiced witness.

It seems to have been most skillfully done. The "breaking," particularly of the southern delegates, had an aspect and air of verisimilitude. Being a southern delegate at a Republican national convention is an art that has never been fully appreciated. It is achieved by a long process of vigorous elimination, and requires aptitude, deftness, finesse, the ability to turn round on a ten cent piece and a matchless skill in "breaking"; particularly in breaking from a standing start. It means everything in a

short dash. These nimble stepping gentry love two things—sugar and a winner. Pick up one of them who knows his way about, bring him to Chicago, blindfold him, turn him round three times, then let him loose and he will go straight to where it is. Don't say that is a blind sentence and ask, "Where *what* is?" Be content that the southern delegate comes year after year, and goes back home none the poorer and much the wiser. It is a liberal education for some of them. They talk about reducing their number at every convention, but, somehow, they never do. They are so useful in indicating a "drift" or "turn in the tide."

The Democrats have in a manner of speaking had the game put in their hands. They have been given an opportunity; a wide-open chance. The Republicans had a chance to make a great production and an entirely new and original presentation. They have chosen instead to revive an old, old play with the original cast.

EDWARD G. LOWRY.

Washington, D. C.

China's Nightmare

THE world has been so satiated with extraordinary events in the last few years, that what would have been a miracle five years ago now hardly attracts attention. What a sensation would once have been created by an announcement that Russia was offering to return to China without compensation all Russian interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway, all mining and timber concessions in Manchuria or other Chinese territory; to renounce all extra-territorial rights as well as all further payments of the Boxer indemnity account! Make all the discount you wish on the ground that the offer comes from the Soviet government; and the transformation is still as extraordinary as if the Germans had without war offered France the voluntary return of Alsace-Lorraine and the return of the war indemnity of 1870. In many respects the proposal is even more sensational than that would have been; more indicative of the incredible levity of history. Twenty years ago no one doubted the intention of Russia to control the entire northern part of China and the Asiatic sea coast at least as far south as Tsingtao; and until Russia's defeat by Japan few doubted the success of her plans.

Read almost any of the books about China written twenty years ago, and you will find that you have only to substitute Japan for Russia, in order to have a fairly accurate description of the situation of today, so far as its spirit is concerned.

Geographical details vary, but the objects and general technique of exploitation is the same. Lord Beresford visited China on a commercial mission in 1898. His report is contained in his book on *The Break-up of China*. In it he says: "I hardly ever made a suggestion to any prominent Chinese official which I thought might tend to the security of British trade and commerce, that I was not met with the question, 'But what would Russia say to that?' or words to that effect. The idea is gaining ground all over China that Great Britain is afraid of Russia."

In the Willy-Nicky letters are found the congratulations of the Kaiser to the Tsar upon having established himself as the dominant power in Peking. In the biography of John Hay there is an account of the denials by Cassini, then Russian minister at Washington, of the report of demands made by Russia upon China which were at the expense of other nations as well as of China. The denials were positive. At the same time Hay, as Secretary of State, was in possession from three different capitals of transcripts of the demands. One might readily imagine that he was reading the diplomatic history of the twenty-one demands. Both the wholesale critics of Japan and the wholesale apologists for her would probably change their tone if they realized how closely copied after the Tsarism of Russia is the imperialism of Japan.

The imitative capacity of the Japanese is notorious. Is there anything surprising that Japan should have followed in the wake of Russia in that feature of foreign policy which is most vital to her—the control of China? I have not the slightest doubt that the great part of the militarists and bureaucrats who have dictated her Chinese policy sincerely believe, with the pattern of Russia always before their eyes, that they are conforming strictly to the proper models of western diplomacy. Wholesale bribery, secrecy, force and fraud were regular parts of the Oriental diplomacy of Russia. It is natural for Japanese officials to believe that the outcry from America or England against similar methods on the part of Japan, is purely hypocritical or else itself a part of the regular diplomatic game.

The more thoroughly the history of the international relations of China for the last twenty years is studied the more apparent is it that Japan has been the heir of Russian aims and methods as well as of, since the great war, Russian achievements. It was Russia that evolved the technique of conquest by railway and bank. She consolidated if she did not wholly originate the sphere of influence politics with its favoritism and its dog-in-the-manger tactics. Russia discovered the value of police boxes as a means of insinuating semi-military and semi-

civil administrative control in territory over which her legitimate claims, stretched to the utmost, were purely economic. Many of the twenty-one demands are almost verbatim copies of prior Russian requests, such as the exclusive right to train the army, etc. Russia evolved to the uttermost the doctrine of military occupation as a means of protecting nationals. She posed as the protector of China against "western" Powers, and prided herself (strangely enough with better reason and more success than Japan) upon understanding Chinese psychology, and knowing how to manage the Chinese. In the secret Cassini protocol made at St. Petersburg in 1896 with Li Hung Chang (the prototype of Chinese statesmen bought with foreign money) will be found the magna charta of subsequent Japanese diplomacy. It even includes a conditional provision for the Russian naval and military occupation of Kiaochow bay.

In the earlier period of Chino-Russian-Japanese relations, that is up to the treaty of Portsmouth in 1905, Japan could use in good faith the claim of self-defense in her dealings with China. For certainly Russia with her enormous undeveloped territory had much less excuse for aggression in Korea and northern China than had Japan. Moreover, every new aggressive step of Russia in China was followed at once by demands for compensating concessions and spheres by other Powers, especially by Great Britain and France. There is every reason for thinking that Germany's claim to Kiaochow was stimulated by Russia to give a colorable pretext to her claim for Port Arthur and Dalny, while the yielding of China in both these matters was immediately followed by demands from Great Britain in the Yangtse region and from France in the south.

This was the period which gave Beresford's book its title of "Break-up" though he himself was an ardent expositor of the doctrine of the Open Door. And it was this situation which enabled Japan in reasonable good faith to set herself up as the defender of the integrity and sovereignty of China against European aggression. Such feelings and claims have a remarkable historic inertia. There is nothing surprising in the fact that they still persist among the mass of the Japanese people, and supply the conditions which enable Japan to continue a policy of aggressive exploitation of China with popular support and sanction. There was a time when the Japanese had every reason to feel that their future destiny depended upon getting enough power to control China as the only sure way to keep China from falling into European hands. Times have changed; the sentiment of the Japanese people lags behind the change in facts

and can still be exploited by the militarist party. And in the meantime (especially after the outbreak of the great war) Japan's own policy became less and less defensive and more and more flagrantly offensive.

If there had been in the United States an adequate knowledge of Russian diplomatic methods in their Oriental aspect and in their bearing upon Japan's fortunes and her Asiatic aims and methods, American gullibility would never have fallen an easy victim to Japan's propaganda for western consumption. As it was, American ignorance secured almost universal approval for the Portsmouth treaty with its "supplementary clauses" which in spite of their innocent appearance meant that the settlement was really a truce concluded at the expense of China's rights in Manchuria. One foreign publicist in China is inclined to hold President Roosevelt responsible for China's international ills since 1905. He takes the ground that he ought to have insisted that since the war had been practically fought on Chinese territory, China should have been a party to the settlement, and that the peace conference was the one great opportunity for effective foreign protection of China against both aggressors. As a matter of fact, the actual outcome was certainly to make both Russia and Japan interested in trading with each other at China's expense. If it had not been for Great Britain's navy, it would doubtless have long ago led to a definite Russo-Japanese understanding regarding the division of northern China. But hindsight is proverbially easy, and it must be doubted whether President Roosevelt is to blame for a lack of foresight which no one else possessed at that date.

All this matter is by way of merely sketching the background of the next important epoch probable in Chinese foreign relations. It is not likely that China will accept the Soviet's offer in its present form. It is not probable the Allies will permit it even if China wanted to assume the risks of such a course. But none the less the offer symbolizes the opening of a new era. Even if the present Russian government is overthrown, any new government that takes its place will have every reason for coming to some good understanding with China. After all, their territories are contiguous for three thousand miles. Both countries are on a continental scale. Japan, when all is said and done, is an island, and the history of insular conquests on a continent afford no very good augury for Japan's future success in Asia. The Siberian situation is still confused. But to all appearances the Japanese militarist party that favors a forward policy of adventure in Siberia is for the time being dominant. China can again chuckle about the Providence that

always seems to come to her rescue when things are at the worst. The Russians are not pacifists; they are still expansive, and they have an enormous land hunger, due to the agrarian history of Russia. The deeper the Japanese get themselves involved in Siberia, the surer, in Chinese opinion, is her final checkmate, even though for some years she may get virtual possession of Eastern Siberia even up to Lake Baikal. There is much to be said for the belief that China's international future is to be decided in Siberia. The situation shifts rapidly. The idea, already broached privately, of an armed

conflict between Japan on one side and Russia, Korea and China on the other, may have nothing in it. But whether Russia returns to monarchy or becomes an established republic, it seems a safe prophecy that China's Russian relations will be the ultimate decisive factor in her international status. The diversion of Japan from China into Siberia probably marks the culmination of her influence in China. It is not improbable that the last five years will soon, as history counts years, be looked back upon as the years of China's nightmare.

China.

JOHN DEWEY.

The Allied Triumvirate

WHILE the Senate has been jealously guarding the sovereignty of the United States against the eventual encroachments of the League of Nations, we in Europe are awakening to very different peril. The League of Nations is not our nightmare. On the contrary we see in it nothing but the pale ghost of a dead hope. It came into the world with half a life, and the abstention of America has robbed it of the flickering vitality which once it had. It was a commonplace with most of us during the latter years of the war, that in some form and in some degree, international government had become a necessity. In no other way, we argued, could peace be assured for the future, and in no other way could a sane ideal of equity, a sane regard for equal human needs be imposed upon the economic ambitions of the greater maritime and commercial Powers. A sort of international government does, indeed, exist in the Old World. It wields irresistible armed force, and is controlled by a small and intimate executive. But this international government is not the League of Nations. It is the Supreme Council of the Allies. When first it was constituted, informally during the war, and more formally during the Peace Conference, most of us were simple enough to suppose that it was a temporary institution, improvised for an emergency. It would disappear, we thought, when the last of the peace treaties was completed, and then the Council of the League would come by its own at last.

We are realizing today that this expectation is unlikely to be fulfilled. The Supreme Council has no intention of dissolving. Mr. Lloyd George said as much, though in rather obscure words, in his last speech in Parliament, and the Temps has since expanded his remarks in an inspired commentary. The three Prime Ministers will continue to meet

at frequent intervals, and at these meetings, or in the less formal consultations among the secretaries of the Triumvirate, the decisions which settle the fate of the Old World will continue to be taken. The Supreme Council seems destined to supplant every other international institution, and even to make the older diplomatic machine obsolete. Even the Reparation Commission, which the Versailles Treaty had invested with dictatorial powers over the whole economic life of Central Europe, was swept aside at the last meeting between Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand, before it had evolved a personality of its own, or taken a single decision. It is the three (or even on occasion—two) Prime Ministers who have made, or are making the fateful arrangements that are to govern the indemnity from Germany. They, and not the Brussels conference of the League of Nations, are to initiate the coming international loan, and one learns without surprise that M. Poincaré has resigned from the Reparation Commission whose functions the Supreme Council has quietly usurped.

It is another consequence of this new technique of government, that the British, and in a less degree the French Foreign Offices are pushed into the background. To the Foreign Secretary with his imposing diplomatic machinery and his venerable tradition of aloof omnipotence, only the routine business of our foreign relations remains. This evolution carries on a tendency which has been apparent in British politics ever since Mr. Lloyd George made himself Prime Minister. We are approximating to the American conception of executive power. Mr. George refused from the outset to "lead" the House of Commons, and he is now in his relations alike to Parliament and to his colleagues of the cabinet, more nearly an American President than a British Premier. His secretaries

perform the functions which in the old days would have fallen to the Foreign Office. It is an immense extension of personal authority, and we lack in our painfully docile and ineffective Parliament the check which the American Constitution provides in the Senate.

As for the Council of the League of Nations, it leads a modest and shadowed life as the discreet handmaiden of the Allied Supreme Council. It has not done, and plainly is not intended to do anything whatever on its own initiative. It is allowed to busy itself with certain minor tasks, too trivial or too manifestly academic to interest the busy dictators of our continent. It has been allowed to occupy itself with the humane work of combatting typhus in Poland. It has summoned a financial conference to discuss the economic chaos of Europe, only to find that the Prime Ministers have already taken the decisions in regard to the indemnity and the loan which will govern our economic life for years to come. It is nominating a commission to discuss disarmament, but one need not be a cynic to predict that it will produce nothing but an addition of more or less value to the theoretical literature of semi-official pacifism. The Council appears to know its place, and gives no sign of an inconvenient love of independence. It discusses only such matters as the Allied Council may be pleased to refer to it. It has, in short, accepted its status as a subordinate body. Its composition was nicely devised to ensure its docility. Mr. Arthur Balfour has retired to it, as he might have retired to the House of Lords, and neither he nor M. Bourgeois are what Mr. George would call "men of push and go." The minor Allies who figure upon it, will give no trouble, and the one neutral, Spain, was evidently chosen with the same object in view. If Holland, Sweden or Switzerland had been represented, the Council of the League might have had at least one member who would not have been entirely at the beck and call of three chief Allies.

There are other signs that the intention of our rulers is to perpetuate the military alliance of the victors as the real organ of the Old World's government. The treaty with Turkey reveals that intention in almost every clause. One may criticise that treaty from several standpoints. In its handling of the natural resources of Turkey, especially the oil, it confesses a frankly predatory intention. It forces France as a mandatory on the Syrians against their will, while it leaves the Armenians, who do ask for a mandatory, derelict and unprotected. Had there been oil in Erzeroum, Mr. Lloyd George might have heard the cry of this martyred people. It offends Moslem sentiment to a dangerous degree, but it also outrages no less

deeply the humaner sympathies of Christians. It has swollen Greece into an empire and imposed her rule on alien majorities, chiefly because Greece, as a minor sea power, understood, under the shrewd but autocratic Venizelos, that her interest lay in cultivating the favors of the greater sea power. Above all, this treaty seems destined to remain a scrap of paper. The whole of Asiatic Turkey rejects it, and will oppose it with arms. As Signor Nitti predicted, it would cost another war to enforce it, and for that war the Allies have neither the appetite nor the means. Nothing, however, in the treaty is quite so indicative of the present mind of the Alliance, as the arrangements which it contains for the perpetuation of Allied control. The Triumvirs have provided for their own supremacy over Turkey long after the war period is over. The financial control which they have set up, is never likely to be exercised, for it implies that Turkey shall first of all be conquered, and reduced to complete subjection. None the less the intention is clear. This financial control, which claims the right to veto any tax, financial legislation or budget, wipes out the last vestige of Turkish independence, and places the effective sovereignty in the hands of Britain, France and Italy. One need hardly pause to point out that the three Powers which together control the finances, administer the railways and officer the gendarmerie of Turkey will also inevitably dispose of all its natural resources which can be exploited by concessions. It is, moreover, the same three Powers and no others who are to provide the naval and military forces for the Straits. That clause is interesting, not merely because it excludes the rest of the world, but even more because it assumes a pre-established harmony among the Supreme Three. The treaty sets up in Turkey an elaborate international machinery—for the police of the Straits, for the control of finance, for the reform of justice, the reorganization of the gendarmerie and the protection of minorities. None of this immense work will be directed by the League. None of these commissions is responsible to it. So completely in all these vital matters is the League ignored, that one is startled when one stumbles upon an occasional mention of its existence. Its fiat will be necessary before the Straits can be closed, and it is to be "consulted" over the arrangements for the protection of minorities. From first to last the assumption of this treaty is that the three victorious great Powers of Western Europe, united by some military alliance, formal or informal, are to continue to exercise their dictatorship over more than half the inhabited earth.

It may be said that it makes little difference

whether power resides in the Supreme Council of the Allies, or in the Council of the League. In one sense this is true. The people who compose the Council of the League are the nominees of the Allied governments, and the dilution of it with one neutral vote may be disregarded. The United States has excluded itself, while Germany, Russia and the minor ex-enemies are banned. The one institution is the reflection of the other. None the less the present composition of the League is not necessarily permanent. Stronger personalities might be named to sit on the Council. Germany, we are assured, will sooner or later be admitted. The assembly when it meets may, possibly, in spite of the disproportionate British vote, elect more advanced representatives of European civilization than Greece and Spain. It may even, one day, consider the proposal of the Swiss government to make the assembly itself an elected Parliamentary body, and to place the choice of the Council in the hands not of the governments, who at present nominate the members, but of the assembly itself. The real difference, however, between the Supreme Allied Council, and the Council of the League is something much broader. The procedure of the League's Council is governed by the Covenant, which places it in a quasi-judicial relation to the whole civilized world. The Allied Council, on the contrary, is nothing but a committee for adjusting and promoting the interests of the British Empire, France and Italy. Both definitions may be somewhat crude. The members of the League's Council would be less than human if they wholly ignored national interests and prejudices. The Allied Council on its side would presumably like to please the general public opinion of civilization, whenever national interests do not pull it too strongly in another direction. None the less the broad facts remain that the League's Council aims at least at making itself the supreme expression of a disinterested universal conscience, while the Allied Council is composed of three men whose aim is to satisfy the electorate or at least the governing class of their own lands. The League's Council, working within the framework of its Covenant has for its primary aim the preservation of peace. The Allied Council can hardly rise above the much more concrete and limited aim of the aggrandizement of the three Allied Powers.

This means in practice that every thing is subjected to a perpetual process of barter. Great Britain wants oil; Italy wants coal. France aims above all at the disarmament and eventually it may be the dismemberment of Germany. Great Britain wants to resume her old commercial relations with Central Europe and Russia. France dreams of her

investments in the old Tsarist empire. Great Britain has taken certain maritime states, notably the Baltic republics, under her wing, because they control the sea coasts, and have their uses alike for trading and blockading. France bases herself on the minor continental land Powers, useful as military auxiliaries, especially upon Poland. For Italy the dread of bankruptcy and revolution is, after the Adriatic, the dominating motive. Every resolution of the Supreme Council is reached after an intricate process of bargaining, in which all these and other similar considerations play their part. There is no such common motive as the preservation of peace. There is no covenant to govern the deliberations. Each plays for his own hand, and the stronger passion dominates. Mr. Lloyd George dislikes further war upon Russia, but he cares still more for the oil of Mesopotamia, which should by the secret treaties have fallen (at least round Mosul) to France. France, it seems, cares more to carry on warlike adventures by proxy and so it turns out that Poland is allowed to launch her offensive against Russia.

It may seem eccentric in so cynical a world, to recall the fact that the League of Nations ought to have had something to say on the subject of this Russo-Polish war. I need not repeat my own view of it. To me it seems a grosser and clearer case of aggression, a less disputable case, than the Great War itself. Poland has rejected repeated offers of peace from Russia. She has even refused an armistice, which would have allowed her to continue her occupation of a stretch of Russian territory which measures 500 miles by 300. To the lands which she covets she has not the shadow of an arguable ethnographical claim. The horror of the war is intensified by the fact that both combatants are staggering under the burden of perennial starvation and recurrent epidemics. Its moral obliquity is aggravated by the fact that Poland will owe her success (if she can succeed) solely to the help of French officers and French guns, British munitions and American credits. The consequence, whoever wins, will be more devastation, more typhus, more starvation, and the postponement of Russia's recovery by a year. Yet the League has faced this prospect, impotent and silent, and the British government has formally refused to set the machinery of the League in motion. The real reason is, of course, either that Downing Street really thinks (which I doubt) that Marshal Pilsudski may succeed, where Denikin failed, or else (which is more probable) that it is committed by various bargains with France to regard Poland and the Ukraine as a French zone of interest. The ostensible reason is, if possible, more discouraging

than the real reason, for it involves the abandonment even of the most elementary hopes that were built upon the League. The League, we are told, can take no notice of this war, because it could take no "effective action" to stop it. It is hard to give any detailed meaning to this official pronouncement. The League could have summoned both combatants to cease fire, and state their case. If either had refused, it would have put itself in the wrong. If the League had then gone on to call for a blockade of the offender or offenders, would not that have been highly effective action? But Poland would certainly not have refused if the Allies had told her to yield. If Russia had been recalcitrant, the Allies would hardly have objected to a turn of events which would have given a moral sanction to their harshest measures. The episode, when one analyzes it, amounts to this, that the League is powerless to intervene in any war which the Allies desire to see waged. War, in short, under the Allied government of the world, is an evil as normal, as fatal, as inescapable, as it was before 1914, and our case is infinitely worse, for it no longer shocks the world as it did then.

There is, of course, a movement of protest. Lord Robert Cecil battles bravely for the idea of the League. Mr. Asquith, a receptive mind, follows him in calling for the abolition of the Allied Council. Labor, weary of the whole deceitful game of politics, has taken to "direct action" at last, and stops munitions destined for Poland. Some years hence, when our coalition falls, labor and the liberals will strive to resuscitate the League. Their help will come too late. When an institution has become contemptible, because it is the embodiment of official cant, the idealists struggle in vain to revive it. Europe will be ruled by the Alliance until the Alliance breaks up. H. N. BRAILSFORD.

A Ghetto Poet

He walks the dirty streets, the urchins jeer
To see his eager-tense, and rapt young face
Through gleams he sees Diana of the Chase,
And open fields and landscapes green and clear
A girl runs by in tawdry finery—
With toilworn hands and joy-imploring eyes,
He looks at her until he seems to see,
Her inner beauty through her cheap disguise.
Then he goes home, the cheerless tenement
Chokes out the sunlight of the whole wide world!
A woman coughs, the walls are wet and soiled
The faded curtains on the door are rent.
He longs for ease, for strength, for country skies,
For love and beauty and a moment's peace
And then when all the dream within him dies
He sits and writes of Pan and ancient Greece!

MARYA ZATURENSKY.

Keynotes

ONE of the best keynote speeches ever made is also one of the longest. Its length is due to three main causes. The speech was not only a keynote but also a platform. The occasion upon which it was delivered was literally unique. The keynoter had been working at his great effort, off and on, for about forty years—ever since he was eighty years old, in fact. His hearers, most of whom were aware that the old man was making his last speech to any audience, undoubtedly encouraged him to take all the time he wanted. Whenever he was afraid he was tiring them they uttered well-bred cries of "Go on! go on!" It is a pity that these encouragements have not been officially reported, and that nobody thought of stop-watching the applause. Such omissions, however, are doubtless due to the date when the official report was made, six hundred and something B. C. The delivery of the speech occurred somewhat earlier.

The uniqueness of the occasion was a great advantage to hearers and keynoter alike. The assembling of the Children of Israel in camp opposite Jericho was not a routine quadrennial act, like our gettings together at San Francisco or Chicago. The chosen people had been looking forward to this day for some forty years, and they knew it could never recur. But it is only fair to Moses to say that although he did talk at great length, and did repeat himself a little, he did not say to himself, "They are all strung up, they will listen to anything." On the contrary, he seems to have taken pains with his appeals to the popular taste. That is one reason why his speech still has so many readers, who find its sentiments strikingly modern, in spots. "But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God," said Moses, "for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth"—words which any convention of believers in private property can still hear with heartfelt approval. Nor did Moses forget the more specialized forms of property. His prophetic eye picked out from among his hearers those few who were destined, in spite of the nomadic life they had been leading, to become the mining magnates of the promised land, "a land," he reminded them, "whose stones are iron and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass."

Moses, in fact, used his prophetic powers to some purpose in this keynote speech of his. He put in a good many passages dealing with problems which we sometimes forgetfully and ignorantly regard as modern. He did his best to do away with the difficulties that have been caused by conscientious objectors and heavy-handed officials. He bade the officers, when the Children of Israel were come

nigh unto the battle, to speak to the people after this fashion: "What man is there that hath built a new house, and hath not dedicated it? Let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man dedicate it. And what man is he that hath planted a vineyard, and hath not yet eaten of it? Let him also go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man eat of it. And what man is there that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her? Let him go and return unto his house, lest he die in the battle, and another man take her." For the timid man who had none of these excuses Moses made special provision: "What man is there that is fearful and faint-hearted? Let him go and return unto his house, lest his brethren's heart faint as well as his heart."

Looking down the long years, twenty-six hundred or more of them, Moses appears to have foreseen Mr. Bryan and the eighteenth amendment, and to have disliked what he saw. "Then thou shalt turn it into money," he said, "and thou shalt bestow that money for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink." Words which are still so fresh and strong, after all these centuries, that the advocates of a wet plank in the Democratic platform might do worse than to quote them at San Francisco. Moses's power to foresee not only the future, but individual figures in the future, is not the least remarkable trait of his keynote. He must have had Mr. Mitchell Palmer in his forecasting eye, and Mr. Mitchell Palmer's dislike of aliens, he must have been intent on pleasing Mr. Mitchell Palmer, when he said to his audience: "Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself; thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it: or thou mayest sell it unto an alien."

We do not affirm positively that Moses had San Francisco and 1920 especially in his consciousness when he made this, his last appearance on any stage. But he knew that the business of a keynote is to say things that will fit all sorts of occasions. Even the humblest keynoter in our degenerate days knows as much as this. Even Senator Harding knows it. Did he not say four years ago, when keynoting at Chicago, that the United States, in its international relations, "must assume the responsibilities of influence and example, and accept the burden of enlarged participation?" And did he not add: "The cloistered life is not possible for the potential man or the potential nation?" Mr. Homer Cummings, urging a declaration in favor of the League of Nations upon the San Francisco convention, could say the same without offending any supporter of the League. Mr. Cummings can say this week, as safely, as sanely, as harmlessly as Senator Harding

said four years ago, that immigrants "are an inseparable and important and valued part of our American citizenship, and the few zealots of any origin who violate our neutrality do not, and cannot, impugn the loyalty or the American patriotism of that great body which adds to the American chorus of 'My country 'tis of thee, Sweet Land of Liberty.'"

The great truths abide. Hence the strong family likeness running through all keynote speeches. Every Republican and every Democratic keynoter knows that in every campaign more men in each party agree that the opposite party must be defeated than agree upon anything else.

The Massachusetts Federation of Churches

A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

BY THE COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

PROFESSOR HENRY K. ROWE, CHAIRMAN.

Adopted by the Executive Committee, April 6, 1920.

Revised June 8, 1920.

The industrial situation has called out a number of statements of principle together with concrete recommendations from organized groups of churches. In these statements there is general agreement as to the need for new methods that shall more perfectly embody the spirit of justice and secure co-operation in industry. It is proper that the churches of Massachusetts should express themselves, for no state in the Union is more concerned with industrial questions. This state has led in legislation. It was the first to organize a State Bureau of Labor. It has provided machinery for conciliation and arbitration. It should be a pioneer in bringing about a better understanding between the parties to industry.

Upon no one organization does the responsibility rest so heavily as upon the churches to urge and inspire to this end those associated in the industries of the Commonwealth. Ninety-three per cent. of the Protestant churches are allied in the Massachusetts Federation of Churches. It has seemed advisable, therefore, to the Executive Committee of the Federation, after consultation with the Committee on Industrial Relations, to suggest a constructive program, first for the improvement of industrial relations, and second for the guidance of the churches. The Committee has no panacea to propose, but it believes that there are basic principles for industry; that there are ways and means that have been proposed or can be devised which should be given a fair trial; and that there is possible a new spirit in industry that can transform it from a burden and a problem to a far greater contribution to human welfare than in the past.

I. PRINCIPLES THAT UNDERLIE PERMANENT INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

1. There are certain principles basic in all human relations that apply to industrial relations. Among these are: Fair dealing, and mutual consideration; *willingness* to keep the peace, and to co-operate for the protection and furtherance of the general welfare; and sacrifice of personal independence, when necessary, for the welfare of other individuals, and for the sake of the whole community.

2. In addition to the general principles upon which association rests there are specific principles for industry. These

need special attention because they have not been universally admitted.

(1) Industry is to be thought of as primarily for the service of society, and only secondarily as a means of personal or corporate gain.

(2) The several parties in industry have certain inalienable rights, and these rights imply corresponding obligations.

(3) Rights of persons take precedence of rights of property.

(4) Industry should be so conducted as to introduce all the possible elements of satisfaction in creative effort; reduce to a minimum fatigue and monotony; and adopt a working day and week that will not overtax the vital forces of the workers, and that will offer opportunity for such leisure as is necessary both for the worker's efficiency and for the happiness of himself and his family.

(5) Society has a rightful claim upon the individual in industry to give the best that is in him. This principle calls for provision for vocational training, both before and during the industrial process, and a right use of leisure, not merely for enjoyment, but also for health, education, religion, and the claims of the home life.

(6) Industry is a partnership, and all parties to production should participate in the direction of industry, in proportion to training, ability and interests.

(7) A fair wage should be the first charge on industry. A fair wage is not synonymous with a minimum wage, but should be interpreted to mean enough for support in reasonable comfort, for emergencies and old age, and a share in a continually improving standard of living.

(8) Capital is entitled to a fair return, and for depreciation on risk and investment; and management is entitled to a return commensurate with skilled intelligence.

(9) The primary needs of the public have first claim over the interests of any one class, and it is incumbent upon the other parties in industry to devise means for the peaceful settlement of all industrial disputes.

(10) Finally, the workers should not be deprived of the following charter of liberties:

a. Every human being has a right to an opportunity for self-maintenance, and to safeguard against unemployment, overwork, accident, and disease.

b. Every worker has a right to leisure and an opportunity for self-improvement.

c. Workers have the right, long enjoyed by employers, to organize freely, and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

d. Workers have a right to a voice in determining the conditions of their labor, including wages, hours, and shop regulations.

II. MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS.

We urge upon employers the cultivation of the spirit of conciliation, of cordial good will and of co-operation with their employees.

We urge further that employers take the workers into their confidence, and invite their counsel and co-operation, as the surest means of removing prejudice, suspicion, and hostility.

We urge that employers recognize freely the right of the workers to organize, and accept the principle of collective bargaining, encouraging regular conferences between themselves and their employees, during times of peace as well as discussions in times of strained relations; as these means can avoid the necessity of arbitration, a device which is less satisfactory, because a third party determines what

should be self-determined by the parties immediately concerned on the basis of their mutual interests.

We urge employers to provide healthful and agreeable conditions of labor, to adopt a reasonable schedule of hours and the principle of a fair wage, and to seek always to be of service to their employees; but not to content themselves with welfare work, profit sharing, and similar paternalistic measures, however good their purpose, as these do not go to the roots of the industrial problem; and to give to the worker a rightful share in the products of his toil.

We urge, finally, that employers adopt a co-operative method of management in the department of operation, and accept the responsibility of aiding their employees, especially in the case of foreign-speaking peoples with their ignorance of the English language and of American ways, to fit themselves for participation in such co-operation.

We urge upon the workers to meet half-way the honest efforts of the employers who are disposed to be friendly, and remind them that there is no necessary enmity between Capital and Labor.

We urge upon the workers to co-operate heartily for increased production, to realize the fallacy of the argument that shorter hours necessarily mean more work for everybody, and to take a real interest in improved methods and machinery for increasing the contribution that the producer can make to the consuming public.

We urge the workers to consider that it is a privilege to co-operate in the world's work under the proper conditions; that leisure is not the highest objective; and that it should be used for wholesome recreation, education, and the development of personality, rather than to satisfy the idle whim of an hour.

We urge upon the public to make provision for the free discussion of industrial matters, by means of open forums in churches, on the public platform, and in social centers; to encourage discussions of both sides in labor unions and in employers' associations; and to demand fair treatment of all parties, and free and unprejudiced discussions in the public press.

We urge upon all parties that they avoid the attitude of arrogance that is sometimes assumed towards others, and show themselves always law-abiding, loyal to American principles and to the demands of moral obligation.

We urge that they welcome the opportunity for experimentation and demonstration of proposed plans of reconstruction, accepting none as being perfect methods of adjustment, but as offering a working basis for better understanding and co-operation.

III. THE OBLIGATION OF THE CHURCHES.

The churches represent a gospel that is surcharged with the spirit of harmony and good will. However much they have failed to measure up to the standards of the gospel with which they have been entrusted, they are the recognized custodians of a religion whose ideals have never been surpassed and whose dynamic power is powerful to transform human nature.

It is the obligation of the churches to take seriously the teaching of Jesus as it applies to present conditions in industry, to interpret the teaching in plain terms of every-day life, and to teach the responsibility of every individual and every class to act justly and to live rightly in this industrial age.

It is the obligation of the churches to teach the value of sacrifice in the common life of today, and to point out that as great heroism and loyalty to the nation may be

expressed in the work of peaceful industry as on the battlefields of war.

It is the obligation of the churches to stimulate the discussion of the problem of our human relations as moral issues, to promote conferences for a better spirit of understanding, and to create a Christian public opinion on social and civic problems.

It is the obligation of the churches, through their social service commissions, to investigate phases of social and civic life, to test individual standards and judge situations by Christian principles, and to discover the most efficient ways and means of bringing Christian influence to bear upon the parties in industry.

It is the obligation of the churches to inspire the consciences of individuals and groups so that they shall endeavor to realize ideals; to create faith in conscientious achievement; and to insist upon a better social order.

CORRESPONDENCE

Does Palmer See Red?

SIR: Attorney General Palmer defending himself before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives on June 2nd said (page 79 of the stenographic report of the hearings issued from the Government Printing Office):

"Coming over on the train from Baltimore a week or so ago I casually picked up a copy of the magazine entitled *The New Republic* and saw on the outside of the cover in flaming black and *red* (my italics) letters, 'Is Palmer guilty of high crimes?' . . ."

It is a detail; but did you print a cover caption in red letters? If so, why was it not supplied to me, as one of your subscribers? Are your contributors not sufficiently skilled in writing to discuss the activities of Mr. Palmer without appealing to red ink for emphasis? Or is it that Mr. Palmer sees red where others see only black and white? I ask a plain answer.

X. Y. Z.

Washington, D. C.

[The Editors would be glad to give a thousand dollars for any copy of the *New Republic* having on its cover in red letters *Is Palmer Guilty of High Crimes?*]

The Dishwashing Professor Again

SIR: I have read with interest and no little amusement the wails and counter-swipes in regard to the indignity of professors performing highly necessary manual labor. I am somewhat different from the regular Orthodox professor's wife—I am a Socialist (Department of Justice please take notice) and I believe in work.

I am forced to smile at the great emphasis placed on the dignity of woman's profession of home making, which immediately and quite instantaneously becomes humiliating drudgery when a professor attempts it. It savors of the good old Indian days when any work whatsoever was "squaw's work."

"Dishes and diapers" aren't inspirational as steady companions. But if a man can't or doesn't earn enough to save his wife from a continual association with these and kindred objects, is his dignity any more sacred than hers? I must bolster up my husband's dignity and profession by appearing at numerous social functions. I meet and occasionally entertain his colleagues. I must keep the washtub and dishes firmly submerged in my unconscious while I

flash wit and wisdom to his everlasting credit, if I can. If my professor companion can't retain his brains and dignity after an *occasional* turn at the dishmop or wringer, how on earth am I to appear his equal before his colleagues, when my whole working energies at home are spent in such "little" duties that my brains are in continual danger of running down the kitchen sink?

It is a real relief after several teas to get back to honest-to-goodness work on a neglected home, and spread back the homey atmosphere as I remove the dust. In the evening we retire to the kitchen—and I thereby add to the professorial confessions—I read the *New Republic* aloud while Father does the dishes. He is tired of reading and talking all day and I am tired of dishes, so whose feelings need be hurt if we swap occupations for a chummy half hour or so? Father can act and look funnier in a bungalow apron than any professional comedian I ever saw, and it cheers me beyond measure to watch his dignity go down the kitchen sink after my brains; as we together absorb the vicious propaganda of the *New Republic* or the *Saturday Evening Post*.

We don't have to put our children to bed—they go—and readily too for they have realized early in life that some dishes must be wiped as well as washed.

I enjoy doing some reference work at the library for my husband, when I have time to leave my profession of home-making. Should he feel any less joy in occasionally doing a little reference work for me? If not, he does not respect me in my job and we are not "comrades and partners," but I am his faithful domestic. As for "claiming him for my work," that is another matter! Once a week or so of his kind of dishwashing is absolutely all I can stand!

SABINA SPALDING.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

American Field Service Fellowships in France

SIR: The first annual Reunion of the American Field Service, the organization of several thousand volunteers who drove ambulances and camions with the French army before any American troops arrived in France, has just been held in New York.

We believe that the Field Service Reunion differed from other war reunions in that it was distinctly forward-looking, and had for its purpose not only the renewal of old associations, but also the perpetuation, among future generations of Frenchmen and Americans, of the mutual understanding and fraternity of spirit which marked their relations during the war. To this end the Trustees of the American Field Service have united with the Trustees of the American Fellowships in French Universities, to found an organization known as the American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities.

For the coming year about twenty fellowships of approximately \$1,000 each will be awarded on the basis of national competition. It is also hoped eventually to found a fellowship for each of the hundred and twenty-six of the Field Service men who died in service.

The success of this plan to send young Americans to study in France depends, of course, to a large extent upon the interest taken in it by the students of our American universities, and the liveliness with which they will compete for its benefits.

New York City.

PRESTON LOCKWOOD.

Guild Socialism and the State

Social Theory, by G. D. H. Cole. New York: F. A. Stokes Co.

GUILD socialism has hitherto lacked a reasoned theory of social organization. In this book Mr. Cole makes a brave and wonderfully successful effort to grapple with its difficulties. It is no light task to crowd into so small a space what is, broadly speaking, a survey of liberty in terms of institutions; but whatever the unstated implications of Mr. Cole's view, no one will rise from the perusal of this book without a sense that the ground has been cleared for action and that we know with real precision in what fashion the political philosophy of guild socialism differs from all previous views. The task is performed with a precision and a clarity that deserve high praise.

The real purpose that Mr. Cole has in view is to render unnecessary the sovereign and omniscient state. It is for him an instrument of tyranny because the very vastness of its effort will render insignificant not merely the practice but even more the purpose of all other associations. The state is regarded as merely one of a whole series of groups, trade unions, churches, and the like, of which society is composed. None of these groups derives its validity from the state; and none of them can be free if the state is to set the terms upon which its life is to be lived. What Mr. Cole is therefore anxious to discover is a system of co-ordinate autonomies through which, ultimately, the necessary social synthesis may be derived. He is in search, that is to say, of liberty, and he finds liberty in the power possessed by each group of men to perform its given function. He rejects parliamentary government on the adequate ground that a delegation of inclusive power is destructive of true representation. What he would do is to divide life into its various functions, to give to each its system of government, and then by co-ordination of these bodies into some form of joint congress to have an ultimately unifying factor into which the purposes of all may enter.

The head and center of debate is the problem of what that institution, which at present we term the state, is to do. In Mr. Cole's view the state is that form of association in which men meet upon the ground of identity instead of difference. In the state they are essentially citizens, and it is in the hinterland surrounding their specialized functions as engineers or miners or doctors that the state is to perform its task. Defence, justice, education, it is with tasks such as these that the state would concern itself. Or, in economic terms, the state represents the citizen as consumer, as a man needing and enjoying certain goods and services, where the guild represents him as producer. The state, that is to say, would concern itself with seeing that New York got its coal; but the life of the miner would not be internally regulated by its authority. For if the state had that task of co-ordination, it would, ultimately, become again sovereign, which is the purpose that Mr. Cole is eager to avoid. The central arbitrating body will be not merely the state, but a council of functional authorities in which the state would be only one element.

Mr. Cole would doubtless be the first to admit that he has left many questions unanswered; and it will probably best indicate the kind of problem that he raises if I suggest in outline the type of difficulty that occurs to me. Mainly it arises upon the frontier of control, and I do not think it beyond solution. But I do not think either that Mr. Cole has dealt with it, or that his confrères in the National

Guilds movement have any real conception of its importance. The heart of the problem is really a delimitation of areas. Mr. Cole conceives the state as representing the interest of consumers and it must therefore, as Mr. Cole admits, control both income and prices. But, surely, if the state, to take an obvious instance, is to control the price of coal, however great the mechanism of conference we provide, the state is, at a fundamental point, within the heart of the miners' guild; and I would suggest therein that the type of organization towards which that fact looks forward is nearer the solution of the Sankey report than it is to that of Mr. Cole himself. For to the will of the state the miners' guild would have to give an attention so complete as to make it broadly all powerful. If disagreement ensued, reference, I suppose, would be had to Mr. Cole's Joint Congress. In that assembly I find it difficult to understand how the state is, on the one hand fairly represented as against the combined interest of producers, or, even if its demand be successful, is to get its will obeyed if the miners prove recalcitrant. Will the Joint Congress order the army to occupy the mines? But Mr. Cole knows as well as I do that soldiers cannot mine coal, and if we are to go without coal, modern experience of the great industry does not help us to feel subdued. Or does Mr. Cole conceive that the corollary of functional federalism is the prohibition of strikes in industries of public importance? To that argument there are at least two replies. Such limitation really creates a sovereign body to enforce the prohibition, and when the disagreement goes to the heart of a principle no prohibition in the world will be effective as against the will to strike.

There is, in fact, an answer to all these questions. But their statement is important because they bring into prominence the defective aspects of guild socialist theory. What its exponents have thus far failed to explore is its psychological background, on the one hand, and its relation to jurisprudence upon the other. Juristically, indeed, guild socialism, at the moment has no foundation whatever. It is obviously groping towards a pluralistic conception of sovereignty; but it has still to meet the theory of Austin at its root and show by what precise scheme it proposes to replace it. And that is the more important because any social philosophy which depends, as Mr. Cole's depends, upon a careful division of function will need a series of written constitutions and a far more prominent judiciary than is today at our disposal for their interpretation. In a society such as Mr. Cole depicts, that is to say, much, if not most, will turn upon the power of judicial review; and it is important to know the mechanism whereby Mr. Cole proposes to make effective the decisions of the Courts. Here again, one seems driven back upon a state more unified in substance than his theory permits; though, here also, the difficulty is more formal than practical. For it is obvious that the foundation of respect for the judiciary must, in Mr. Cole's system, lie in the manner in which the judiciary is appointed. In that aspect the British Coal Commission has taught us an administrative lesson we should ceaselessly remember.

The psychological problem implicit in Mr. Cole's philosophy is not, I think, at all fairly met anywhere in his book. Mr. Cole—it is a noble fault—always writes as though every member of the community will be as interested as he himself is in the process of government. He assumes at once a far greater identity of nature than is the actual case with any society at the same time as he insists upon a far greater interchange of function. I do

not doubt that there is no greater social wastage than that which is due to our neglect of the immense body of experience which the working-class possesses. But I think that the process of making experience articulate and the further process of translating it into legislative terms are far more difficult than Mr. Cole seems to be aware of. I cannot avoid the feeling that the democracy of the future is bound to be not an undifferentiated mass of citizens but a rather carefully stratified structure in which the critical point will be the important administrative positions. And at that point I feel fairly certain that the kind of psychology which will govern our system of organization is to be found not in the literature of guild socialism but in the very careful analysis presented to the Coal Commission by Lord Haldane. Responsibility, in a word, will involve power; and that power must, to be effective, gather about itself safeguards against a hasty decision on the part of those who delegate it. A democracy will always need leaders and it will always have to trust those leaders. Education will do much to make the test of their fitness more adequate than it is today. But it would be idle to expect that in any community the vast majority of citizens can be made to follow the technical details of administration; and it would be vicious to destroy the importance of continuity by a process of constant change or easy dismissal in the interest of freedom. Anyone who has seen the ideals of Jacksonian democracy at work will realize how imperative it is not to prolong the hold of its misguided ideals longer than is absolutely necessary.

Mr. Cole's book is so stimulating that in a later edition I hope he will remove one unnecessary confusion. To tilt at Dr. Bosanquet is admirable; but it is impossible to accept Rousseau's general will, on the one hand, and reject the general idealist philosophy upon the other. Rousseau's general will, as I have tried elsewhere to show, is the root of some of the most mischievous misunderstanding in the history of political ideas. It is little more than a pious aspiration that the right should prevail; and when it is translated into the practical terms of political procedure it comes to mean little more than majority-rule. The greatness of Rousseau does not consist in the particular solution of the problem of freedom that he proposed, but rather in his unerring perception that it consists in discovering the relation of individuality to organization. Hobbes, at bottom, destroyed individuality that organization might be preserved. Locke ultimately was willing to sacrifice the continuum of social life to purely abstract individual right. But Rousseau perceived that the root of the problem is in their conjunction; and it has been the continuous effort of social philosophy since his time to answer the questions that he posed. H. J. L.

Kipling's Pet Panic

Letters of Travel, by Rudyard Kipling. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

Tales of My Native Town, by Gabriele D'Annunzio. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

SOMEWHERE in the works of Mr. Rudyard Kipling—I think it is in *The Light That Failed*—there is a passage which tells how, for every man alive, however brave he be, the world holds one terror that can beat his spirit to its knees. To one man it may be the dark, shining, swaying face of deep waters; to another it may be the

flash of cold steel; and a third the darkness may turn to a child. Mr. Rudyard Kipling also is not without his own pet panic. He is afraid of white men and the ways of white men. He is afraid of them to the point when control breaks down and the lips are parted by the scream of an ancestral voice that has nothing to do with the civilized self. And this fear makes an ugly and uncharacteristic thing of his new book *Letters of Travel*.

It begins, tantalizingly enough, with a series of letters describing the United States and Japan which were written by the authentic Kipling who was young. He it is indeed who tells us how the Japanese baby played in the fishing-boat, and how at Kamakura one may see "the ancient, orderly gardens with their clipped trees, shorn turf, and silent ponds smoking in the mist that the hot sun soaks up after rain, and the green bronze image of the Teacher of the Law wavering there as it half seems through incense clouds." It is the saddest thing in all literature—no early death can match its tragedy, for there there is no wilful abrogation of the spirit's own high quality—that this man who was a genius because he was younger than anybody else who ever lived and had beyond the lot of ordinary men youth's interested eyes and habit of forcible exclamation at the world's wonders, should abandon himself to the desire to be old; that he should hunger and thirst after senility, with its testiness and gouty prejudice and drawing down of the corner of its mouth at the way life goes, as if it were righteousness; and that his prayer should be completely granted.

In the larger part of this book, which was written after the onset of this voluntary old age, there is nothing to disguise the extent to which he is driven by this crazy fear. When he visited Canada in 1907 he may have taken with him the same pair of eyes that he took to Japan in 1892, but he let them see very little. The Great Lakes they saw, and that jade green lake high up in the Rockies which colored its reflections to its own tint and magically imaged pale green snows. But for the rest he was too busy with what white men have brought into the country of the organization which is characteristic of them. The Western world has not, in spite of the efforts of many strong men of the type approved by Mr. Kipling, been wholly unaffected by the spreading of that "moral rot" which began in Judaea two thousand years ago. That gospel of "softness" has left its mark in a general respect for individual freedom. It has to be so. There is no man so unworthy that he deserves to be a slave, for all men have immortal souls. There is no man so worthy that he can be trusted to own slaves, for all men are miserable sinners. The recognition of those hard facts—the ruins of the empires that depended on a slave-class show how hard they are—has impelled the Western world to the invention of certain social devices designed toward the suppression of slavery in any form. They are clumsy enough, but no one complains of the clumsiness of piles built hastily under the buckling structure. No one but Mr. Kipling. He weeps and will not be consoled because the common men of Canada are so wilfully different from the seething millions, hardly named, of the Indian proletariat, forever sweating in the fields and factories, deterred from any hateful movement towards prosperity and the attainment of individual freedom by perpetual dependence on the moneylender and the assaults of famine and plague. He rages at Canadian labor because it will not hand itself over unorganized to these Canadian capitalists of which we have had surprising experience in this country; apparently feeling, in his en-

thusiasm for Eastern institutions, that the next best thing to a dusky potentate is a shady one.

Now, this is not merely the consequence of strong political convictions, though Mr. Kipling is a good political hater. He can Minor Prophet with the best of them, though that is a bad job of which no one can make the best. It is the contrary nature of jeremiads that if you let them go on too long they turn into comic songs, and Mr. Kipling has not succeeded in breeding a stock that is immune from this failing. He gives a description of the Liberal government in 1907, which, taken as curry rather than as a considered political judgment, is not so bad. But he goes on: ". . . The isolation of the unfit in one political part has thrown up the extremists in what the Babu called 'all their naked *cui bono*.' These last are after satisfying the two chief desires of primitive man by the very latest gadgets in scientific legislation. But how to get free food, and free—shall we say—love? within the four corners of an Act of Parliament without giving the game away too grossly worries them a little." Consider this account of the activities of the Liberal government in the light of the personality of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. . . . But there is more in Mr. Kipling's abuse of democracy than the mere determination of the party man to scream as loudly as he can. It is a thing beloved of white men, and dreadful things happen in the white man's world. Did you know that in 1907 the English working-class lived under a reign of terror administered by persons vaguely described as "the gentlemen who propose to be kept by their neighbors"? It was pretty bad for something completely invisible. "Tea-and-sugar borrowing friends have told them jocularly, or with threats, of a good time coming when things will go hard with the uncheerful giver. . . . It is one of their preoccupations to send their children to Sunday School by roundabout roads, lest they should pick up abominable blasphemies. When the tills of the little shops are raided, or when the family ne'er-do-well levies on his women with more than usual brutality, they know, because they suffer, what principles are being put into practice. . . ." Is it not amazing? But even the sanest people babble madness when they are greatly afraid.

Another book, a very different book, gives one the clue to the source of the terror that dominates Mr. Kipling to the frustration of his genius. It is D'Annunzio's *Tales of My Native Town*. Never were there such people as the Italian peasant described in these stories. Past all belief is the corruption of their bodies, the leprosy of their conduct, for such a population would long ago have exterminated itself by its own vices. It occurs to one as one reads, "But these are the nightmares of a frightened child. While he was a baby in the country his nurse showed him some deformed beggar, and took him into some hovel where he saw horrible things." He left the countryside and grew up and became that queer, scattered thing, a cosmopolitan. His present attempt to add to Italy a town that is not Italian is only the latest manifestation of a longstanding desire to scramble Europe as one scrambles an egg. Before the war it took the form of going to Paris and writing plays in bad French and giving the principal part to a Russian actress with a Yiddish accent. It is impossible to say which of these spectacles can have given the angels most pain. And when he came to write of the peasant life with which he had never merged himself in his adult years his childish terror at those ugly sights, not having been cancelled by subsequent experiences of beauty in the same

place, rose up and dominated him. Mr. Kipling is surely in a similar case. At the beginning of the letters describing his voyage to Egypt he speaks of "the friendly whiff from the lascars' galley. . . . But for the hesitation of a few impertinent years I should have gone without hesitation to share their rice. Serangs used to be very kind to little white children below the age of caste." There we have it. One can imagine a little English boy, many years ago, coming out of a world of warm weather and kind brown people with heaps of time to play with children, and entering into another and unblest section of the earth where the sun was blenched and people were ugly and most terribly busy: and forming then and there a hatred of white men and their ways which would persist, against all the workings of reason, till the end of life. It is a pity. A great pity for Mr. Kipling, and something of a pity for us also. There are various pleasures, the existence of which we learn from Mr. Kipling himself, which are denied to us by our elders' rejection of the gentleness which is the wisdom of the Christian West. "There was a Sikh in a saw-mill" (in Vancouver) "had been driver in a mountain battery at home. Himself he was from Amritsar. (Oh, pleasant as cold water in a thirsty land is the sound of a familiar name in a far country.)" Not to us now, even in the farthest country, will the name of Amritsar be pleasant as cold water in a thirsty land. . . . No, not at all.

REBECCA WEST.

The Hesitant Heart

The Hesitant Heart, by Winifred Welles. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

QUIETLY, almost trepidantly, there steals among the warring factions of contemporary American poetry, a new lyricist. Frightened by the clash of old standards and new theories, torn by the impulse to sing and abashed at the roar of a hundred more sonorous organs, this young melodist tries her voice. It is still uncertain; it quavers and betrays a nervous tremolo; her breath is as hesitant as her heart. Yet the lyric passion, disturbed, but never defeated, is always here. It rises out of the lightest and least thoughtful, of these songs; it mounts unsteadily to surprising heights.

Not that Miss Welles depends wholly on her emotion. She can, with a half-detachment, make little, almost impersonal pictures. This is one of them:

FROM A CHINESE VASE.

Roaming the lonely garden, he and I
Pursue each other to the fountain's brim,
And there grow quiet—woman and butterfly—
The frail clouds beckon me, the flowers tempt him.

My thoughts are rose-like, beautiful and bright,
Folded precise as petals are, and wings
Uplift my dreaming suddenly in flight,
And fill my soul with jagged colorings.

The waters tangle like a woman's hair
Above the dim reflection of a face—
He thinks those are his own lips laughing there,
His own breasts curving under silk and lace.

How shall we know our real selves, he and I,
Which is the woman, which the butterfly?

Nor, even when she draws most heavily on her feelings, is Miss Welles an unconscious victim of her own sensations. She has the faculty, unusual in a lyric poet, of self-appraisal; a whimsical analysis is the outstanding feature of poems like *Five O'Clock*, *Idyll*, *Cobweb*, *Love Song* from *New England* and this more intense

GESTURE

My arms were always quiet,
Close, and never freed.
I was furled like a banner,
Enfolded like a seed.

I thought, when Love shall strike me,
Each arm will start and spring,
Unloosen like a petal,
And open like a wing.

Oh, Love—my arms are lifted,
But not to sway and toss.
They strain out wide and wounded,
Like arms upon a cross.

Still tentative, this appropriately rose-colored volume reflects the poet's models as well as her preoccupations. The ghost of Emily Dickinson flits furtively through these pages; one is often aware, by nothing more than the perfume, of the presence of Sara Teasdale. *One Voice* is an instance, *Language* is another, so is *Trespasser* and that poignant lyric, *The Unfaithful April*, which ends

I hear the robin this year,
His voice is sweet and strong,
But I can not give him welcome
Nor listen to his song.

How can he bear the new leaves
Around his last year's nest?
How can he sing with old wounds
Still red upon his breast?

Miss Welles is wise in not attempting florid passages. Hers is a limited gamut, an obviously restricted range. Yet, within that range, her voice is pure, the art is skilful and the melodies exquisite. None of the younger singers has communicated with more charm her accents of soft delight mingled with a perturbed wistfulness. Even her more intense affirmations have a timid tenderness.

HUMILIATION

How nakedly an animal
Lies down on earth to die,
Unmindful of the shining air,
And unashamed of sky.

But men and women under roofs
Draw shades and hush the floor,
And furtively they lay their dead
Behind a darkened door.

One is fearful of so fine and delicate a touch; its development is hazardous. On one hand lies sophistication, which will destroy the frank ingenuity; on the other hand, there is the danger of an insistent naïveté which is even worse. One can not tell, from this first offering, whether Miss Welles will develop her voice without forcing it. But one can hope.

LOUIS UNTERMAYER.

Mrs. Warren's Daughter

Mrs. Warren's Daughter, by Sir Harry Johnston. New York: The Macmillan Co.

THERE are signs that Sir Harry Johnston is confirmed in the habit of carrying on other people's stories. The only safe procedure for his fellow-novelists may come to be to leave all their characters in whom the "public" conceivably might take an interest, safely and securely dead. Else who knows what ingeniously contrived further fortunes may not be supplied for the hero or heroine left high and dry at the word *Finis*? Already, having continued the history of the *Dombey* blood down to our generation and having conducted Vivie Warren through the militant suffrage campaign and the World War to a marriage with the illustrious scientist Sir Michael Rossiter, Sir Harry is probably looking around for other unfinished fortunes to carry on. Why should he not seek out the aging Austin Feverel and recount the after-history of his daughter-in-law, left a widow when still very young? Or inquire as to whether Angel Clare *did* marry Emmy Lou after the black flag had signaled the close of Tess's tragedy? But let him keep his hands off the Clayhanger family with whom, one suspects, Mr. Bennett is not yet done.

We have Sir Harry's word for it that G. B. S. gave him permission to tell of the adventurous and highly creditable life of *Mrs. Warren's Daughter*. Mr. Shaw perhaps feels poorly repaid for this uncharacteristic act of indulgent good-nature. For the difference in style and method between the once notorious play and its novel-sequel is so great as to give the impression of a huge solution of continuity. The terse bare dialogue, the crisp sharply drawn characterization, the wealth of moral beneath the glittering stage-craft give place to what to some minds at least will seem a rather cheap sort of realism. Details of recent social and political history are amassed, with resort to the flashy device (already seen in *The Gay-Dombey*s) of introducing actual people still living (Professor Ray Lankester, Mr. and Mrs. Gosse, Sir Harry himself) among the creatures of the author's imagination. In contrast to this predominating realistic element is set the romantic theme of the heroine's career in the law-courts masquerading as a man, David Vavasour Williams, the actual David having died in the South African War. This stale "disguise-plot" is quite out of place and the failure of the father of the real David to detect the imposture is utterly unconvincing. The long-drawn-out account of the women's struggle for the vote has some "documentary" interest, but it fails to hold the reader's attention, for the problem has been hustled from the center of the stage by more recent and more debatable issues. The latter portion of the book is more arresting. The story of the German occupation of Brussels is told in vivid but not too glaring detail. With no effort to draw a veil over the horrors of that time, Sir Harry, nevertheless, impartially records "acts and episodes of unlooked-for kindness, forbearance and sympathy" on the part of the hated German people. These chapters, so evidently founded on actual experiences, may have permanent value as a record of this central throbbing point of Europe's tragedy. The thread of connection between this and the earlier part of the novel runs through the devoted work of the noble Minna von Stachelberg, representative of the New Woman in Germany.

Long ago, when his African explorations furnished material for the professors of anthropology, Sir Harry proved that he had a gift for minute observation and patient note-

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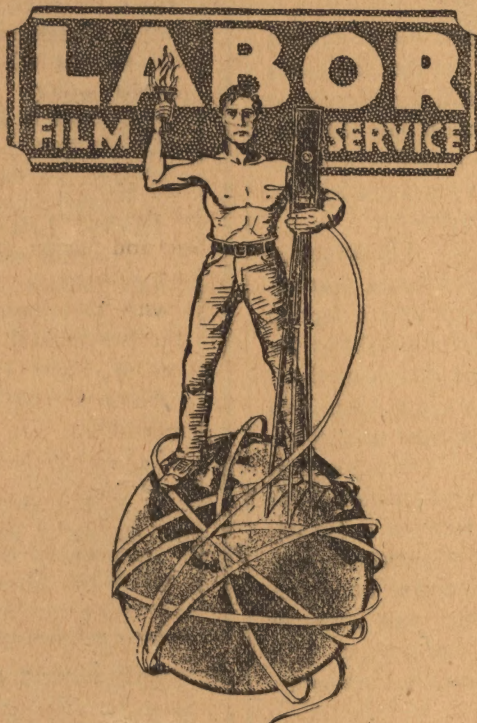
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taking. That talent has not failed him here. There are memorable passages of such detail: the Black Friday clash between the Suffragists and the police, Vivie's trial for arson, the judicial murder of Bertie Adams by order of von Bissing. Equally praise-worthy is the fine sense of justice in the author's warm-hearted advocacy of the women's movement. And there are occasional passages of shrewd and witty comment upon the failure of the pseudo-liberals of Mr. Asquith's cabinet to grasp the real significance of the suffrage war. Strangely enough, there is only the most hesitating grudging attention, quickly turned elsewhere, to the central problem posed twenty-two years ago by Mr. Shaw: the problem of Mrs. Warren's profession.

Judged as a work of art the book fails. The structure is stumbling and plodding; the style second-rate journalism. The characterization, with the admirable exception of the redoubtable Mrs. Warren herself (she shows Sir Harry's loving study of Dickens), is singularly superficial and conventional. The running commentary upon men and affairs is that of the average liberal-minded gentleman. His care for strict chronological accuracy sometimes plays Sir Harry false. For example, the Russo-Japanese War did not end in 1904; "twilight sleep" was not being employed so long ago as 1902. The book will probably succeed well in England, where many a prominent Londoner, considering this minor character and that and watching reality peer through the veil of realism, will whisper, Is it I? Is it I? But such methods of insuring temporary vogue seldom win permanent renown. S. C. C.

On the Makaloa Mat, by Jack London. New York: The Macmillan Co.

THE dregs of a genius are often remarkable for some positive quality, but the lees of a journalist's manuscripts are more frequently remarkable only for their mediocrity. This gentle platitude is well illustrated by Jack London's posthumous volume of Hawaiian stories, *On the Makaloa Mat*. The seven tales which make up the book represent some of the author's weirdest confusions. There is the commonplace misapprehension that local color will conceal a poor story; there is the blurring of qualities and characteristics inherent in the rule-of-thumb intellect; and there is a conversational straining which achieves a rare mixture of the King James version and Hiawatha.

As for the first confusion—in literature beyond a certain spectrum most of us are local-color blind. The unknown may pique the interest and lend a legitimate charm to the story, but it cannot do more. The story is fundamental; the overpainting merely a technique which may add brilliance. In these stories the glamour of Hawaii, now a bit threadbare, does not serve to conceal the subterfuge. The stories are originally dull. A mass of overhanging scenery, irrelevant detail, and attenuated suspense only obscures and paralyzes an incident that might be striking if told in a naked and unassuming style.

The medium of the tales is conversational narrative, but the sprightliness of conversation degenerates into guide-book fiction. Some of the description has the true Long-fellow ring, "Shorter than Bella was Martha a trifle, but the merest trifle, less queenly of port . . ." On the whole it is difficult to see why the author boycotts the simple, useful conventions of expression.

"This is probably the last volume of short stories by Jack London to appear. At Mr. London's death there were many unpublished manuscripts, but those that were suitable have now for the most part been issued." So state the publishers—conservatively. R. V. A. S.

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